

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: TURKISH PAPER ON FLANK MEASURES

REFS: A. NATO 216, B. NATO 242, C. VIENNA 640, D. NATO 3911

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

1. MISSION SHOULD MAKE FOLLOWING RESPONSE TO TURKISH PAPER
SUBMITTED REF A WHICH REFLECTS RECOMMENDATIONS OF USDEL
MBFR AND MISSION (REFS C AND D). AT YOUR DISCRETION, YOU
MAY WISH TO APPROACH UK AND FRG DELEGATIONS ABOUT OUR RE-
SPONSE, ELICITING THEIR SUPPORT FOR OUR POSITION. WE LEAVE
TO YOUR JUDGMENT WHETHER TO RAISE THIS MATTER IN NAC RATHER
THAN SPC.

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2. OUR RESPONSE SHOULD STATE THAT WE HAVE CAREFULLY RE-
VIEWED TURKISH PAPER. WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF AND SYM-

PATHIZE WITH TURKISH CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBILITY THAT MBFR REDUCTIONS COULD INCREASE THE THREAT TO NATO FLANKS.

3. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT SHARE TURKISH ASSESSMENT (PARA 7, REF A) THAT REDUCTIONS ARE LIKELY TO LEAD TO AN INCREASED THREAT TO THE FLANKS. IN OUR VIEW, SOVIETS ARE LESS LIKELY TO DEPLOY FORCES RETURNED FROM THE NGA AGAINST THE FLANKS THAN TO OTHER AREAS SUCH AS THE WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICTS.

4. WE ALSO SEE REAL PROBLEMS IN PROPOSING TO THE SOVIETS THAT THEY DISBAND WITHDRAWN FORCES. WE BELIEVE SOVIETS WOULD IN THIS CASE BE VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO PRESS FOR DISBANDMENT OF US FORCES WITHDRAWN FROM AREA. THEY WOULD PROBABLY NOT ACCEPT ARGUMENT THAT US FORCES REMAINING INTACT WOULD NOT CONSTITUTE THREAT TO WARSAW PACT BECAUSE OF THEIR STATIONING IN CONTINENTAL US. MOREOVER, WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO ENVISAGE SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT LIMITATIONS ON THEIR RIGHT TO STATION SOVIET FORCES WHERE THEY WISH IN THE USSR UNLESS WE AGREE TO RECIPROCAL CONCESSIONS INVOLVING US TERRITORY SO FAR-REACHING THAT THEY COULD INJURE WESTERN SECURITY. IF SOVIETS INSIST THAT WITHDRAWN FORCES CANNOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES BE REDEPLOYED TO NATO, OUR ABILITY TO CARRY OUT OUR NATO COMMITMENTS WOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY DIMINISHED.

5. FOR THESE REASONS, WE BELIEVE THAT THE PRINCIPLES STATED IN ARTICLE 17 AND 22 OF THE AGREED ALLIANCE APPROACH AND REFERRED TO IN TURKISH PAPER PROVIDE BEST MEANS OF MEETING TURKISH CONCERNS. HOW TO GIVE PRACTICAL EXPRESSION TO THESE PRINCIPLES, AND TO MAKE THESE PRINCIPLES CLEAR TO THE OTHER SIDE REMAINS TO BE DETERMINED WITHIN ALLIANCE. WE URGE THAT NATO GIVE PRIORITY CONSIDERATION TO THIS ISSUE. AS A BEGINNING, WE SUGGEST THAT THE TURKISH REP AT THE MBFR TALKS BE PREPARED TO TAKE THE FLOOR AT AN APPROPRIATE PLENARY SESSION TO EXPLAIN ALLIED CONCERNS ABOUT THE POSSIBLE INCREASED THREAT TO THE FLANKS FROM REDEPLOYMENT OF WITHDRAWN FORCES. (WE WOULD, OF COURSE, ASSUME TURKS WOULD NOT ADVANCE A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL.) THIS THEME COULD BE TAKEN UP AT APPRO-

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PRIATE TIMES BY OTHER DELEGATIONS.

6. IN THE MEANTIME, ALLIES COULD CONSIDER VARIOUS FORMULATIONS DESIGNED TO MEET THE TURKISH CONCERN FOR DISCUSSION AT NATO, FOR EXAMPLE, AN AGREEMENT PROVISION SPECIFYING THAT THE REDUCTIONS SHOULD NOT RESULT IN A DIMINUTION OF THE SECURITY OF ANY OTHER STATE.

7. FYI: WE ARE AWARE THAT TURKS ARE UNLIKELY TO BE COMPLETELY SATISFIED WITH THE ABOVE RESPONSE. HOWEVER,

THEIR PROPOSALS AS WELL AS MANY OTHER CONCEIVABLE FORMULAS DESIGNED TO ALLAY THEIR CONCERNS COULD HAVE BOOMERANG EFFECT OF RESTRICTING US FREEDOM OF ACTION OR AT LEAST PROVIDING THE SOVIETS WITH BASIS FOR OPPOSING US DEPLOYMENTS TO NATO AREAS OUTSIDE THE NGA. NEVERTHELESS, WE WOULD HOPE TO MEET THEIR CONCERNS INsofar AS THIS IS PRACTICAL. WE BELIEVE THAT DIALOGUE WITH TURKS ON THIS ISSUE SHOULD BE KEPT IN BRUSSELS WHERE NATO CONSIDERATIONS AND SUPPORT FROM KEY NATO ALLIES CAN BE HELPFUL IN MOLLIFYING TURKS. END FYI. RUSH UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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